/84 cont./

the question at the head of these lines and which was asked us by no less than a university student.

It is too clear; we are so poisoned by Darwinian transformism, and the primitives have been so denigrated, that only by effort are they thought of as being endowed with reason, moral knowledge, and the faculty of language. Thus, for example, we read in the sociology text of an American university: "The vocabulary of the uncultured man is not made up of more than 300 words...: The remote origins of society is the place we must go to in order to seek out the times when man is still an animal lacking words or an incipient language."

183. On the other hand, should it come to hand, and to further lower mankind and further lower the barrier which separates us from mere animals, after having almost totally denied a language to sundry tribes, they exalt the language of the howlers or araguatos /"monkeys," "mimics"/, saying that "they talk for hours on end in the midst of a general silence, followed by a great hubbub, which ceases as soon as the orator again takes the floor." (Topinard.) We wish him good ears for such eloquent words! It is already known that T. writes from hearsay (and remote at that) and that he did not have to endure as we have the howlings of such eloquent orators but a few meters away from our hammock!

In vain do we missionaries repeat that the Indians have a well-organized language, suitable for the expression not only of matters of material life, but also those of intellectual life; time and time again do they come to us with the same questions and the same prejudices, a thousand times refuted.

197
● 127 184. To those who ask us how we missionaries manage to reach an understanding with the Indians, I reply that love and labor conquer all and accomplish anything. As Mons. Le Roy tells us in these words: "When a missionary goes to establish himself in an unexplored country, among a tribe which he doe now know, one of the first cares is to learn the language. He may perhaps find some native interpreter; but even in such a

/88 cont./

621 622 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

592 621 622 192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc., Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily gather about him several other families, either in individual houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 571 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 578 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings [123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

● 127 162 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

/89 cont./
127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

900 194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

/771/ 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento, a department of the Venezuelan Government. In this connection I am much indebted to the minister, Dr. Manuel R. Egaña, and to the organizers of the expedition and my companions on it, Drs. Victor M. López, Santiago E. Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado O., and Carlos Freeman. My presence in Venezuela was made possible by the generosity of Mr. H. S. Scarritt. The accurate equation of Indian with scientific names was made possible in many cases by the collection of mammals made on the same occasion by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe. Technical lists of the mammals of this general region have been given by her (Roe, 1939) and by Tate (1939). The species named below are those of the Arekuna region. Animals known to the other Caribs are mostly the same species, or other races of them.

Knowledge of these two dialects has been supplemented by reference to many standard works, of which those of Koch-Grünberg (especially for Taurepán), Williams (for Makuchi), de Goeje (for Kaliña and compiled comparative Carib vocabularies), and Adam (compiled comparative vocabulary) are most important. I have cited an authority for each word not recorded by me. In a few cases these are secondary authorities (especially Adam and de Goeje) since their compilations make it unnecessary for present purposes to refer to the very scattered literature on each separate dialect. In most cases I have also given the Venezuelan Spanish names, since these often differ markedly from the Spanish of other regions.

[p. 1-C]

translated by a noun, konekanin, "the maker." It implies that the action is not completed.

-tapon. This is used in the same way as -nin, but the action is completed. konekanin, "the maker (who is still making), konekatapon, "the maker (who has completed making, or of something now made)."

-to^{3}. This is used in ways analogous to -nin and -tapon but it designates the means or instrument involved in or required for the action, rather than the active agent. konekato^{3}, "the maker (used in making)." This is not the personal pronoun to^{3}.

-n. This also is used where Indo-European languages would use a verbal noun or a noun and it comes the closest of anything in Kamarakoto to being a true gerund. It signifies the act or process of doing something, e.g. endana, "eat," endanan, "the act of eating." It, however, like the other Carib so-called verbal nouns, is basically verbal, not noumal. It can be used with auxiliaries, e.g. etame, "walk," etamen pö^{3}man, "he is walking" ("in the act of walking is").

As an illustrative comparison, the Kamarakoto equivalents of the partial Taurepán paradigm given by Father Baltasar de Matallana were gathered.[87] Later it was possible to compare this with Taurepán at first hand. The results of the comparison are instructive from several points of view and so are given here, obviously without any pretension of giving a complete comparison or of setting up a full or model conjugation. It should be remembered that Father Baltasar's transcription is not meant to be phonetic.

1. Verb stem and present or non-temporal indicative. Koneka. Taurepán, koneka, (Baltasar) koneka.

2. Indicative forms showing completion or non-contemporaneity. "Pretérito" of Baltasar.

   a. konekapauya, phonetic derivative from koneka-pa-u-ya = stem + non-contemporaneous prefix pa + personal pronoun u + nominative particle ya, "I made." The simple tense form is of course konekapa. Taurepán, konekapöya = konekapa+ya, without indication of person, (Baltasar) konekapue uya, "hiciste" ("thou madest").[88]

   b. (Not in common use by Kamarakotos who habitually replace it by the next form.) Taurepán, konekapoti^{3}-uya, "I made repeatedly, used to make," (Baltasar) konekapueti-uya, "hiciste (repetidas veces)," "thou madest" (should be "I made?") "— repeatedly."

87, 88 see footnotes on pp. 316-17, category 816 — Analysis

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mada, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to^{9}-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumɛ, "their daughter," but enji and lumɛ are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retərata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[297] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.